

# AZANIA COMBAT

No 2

- Service Suffering and Sacrifice -

1974



**PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA**

Acting President P.K. LEBALLO at the UN  
( Report on Page 5 )

## EDITORIAL

### VICTORY

The imminent total decolonisation of Angola and Mozambique, and the full emergence of the Republic of Guine with its capital in Bissau, represent the highest mark attained since Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah led Ghana to independence and opened the flood-gates that have swept out colonialism from Algiers to Lusaka and from Conakry to Tananarive in Africa's post-war struggle for liberation. The Caetano regime in Portugal fell to the deadly blows of sustained armed struggle by the Freedom Fighters of Angola, Guine and Mozambique, fighting mostly under the most adverse conditions. All of Africa, including African descendants the world over, rejoice at the glorious victory collectively scored by the followers of Eduardo Mondlane, Amical Cabral, Samora Machel and Jonas Savimbi, Augustino Neto and Roberto Holden. We salute all those heroic Sons and Daughters of Africa who paid the supreme sacrifice and fell in the struggle. The new rulers of Portugal must proceed even more swiftly to pull out from Africa, including Sao Tome and the Principe Islands, and leave the peoples in their former colonies to become masters of their own destinies. And now, whilst it is true that the withdrawal of Portugal from Africa leaves ominous black clouds over the fascists in South Africa and Rhodesia we, the Azanian freedom fighters, cannot afford to bask in the reflected glory of our brothers and sisters. One of the major obstacles has been removed and we must now prove our revolutionary worth - with action! Victory is in sight, we must snatch it.

---

In this issue

Editorial: Victory .....	Front Page
Prospects of a Vietnam in Southern Africa .....	3
International Community commemorates Sharpeville .....	5
The Lions tour of South Africa .....	7
News from inside Azania in brief .....	8
The Pan African Scene .....	10
Brief News & Comments: Economic and Military .....	11

---

Announcement:

Due to rising costs subscriptions for  
Azania COMBAT are now £1.25p (in British  
Sterling) or 3 US dollars per 12 issues.  
Subscribers are reminded that their payments  
cover 12 issues and not 12 months as we are  
unable to come out monthly with the paper.  
In Britain the price per copy is raised to  
6p from 5p and will cost the corresponding  
amount elsewhere.

- Circulation Department

---

Published by:

The Mission to Europe & the Americas  
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania  
22a Hillview Garden  
London NW4 2JH U K Tel (01) 203 4811

Prospects of a Vietnam  
in  
Southern Africa

WHILST REJOICING OVER THE UNQUESTIONABLE VICTORIES OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE VANISHING PORTUGUESE COLONIES IT IS NOT TOO SOON TO TAKE STOCK AND REFLECT ON THE LIKELY REACTION AND POSSIBLE INTERVENTION OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM AS A WHOLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. We are not sounding an alarm but we have history to back us as sinister moves take shape, initiated by those who are not rejoicing over the defeat of Portuguese colonialism; which is a set-back for imperialism.

It will be recalled that after the defeat of the French colonialists at Dien Ben Phu by the heroic forces of the Vietnam National Liberation Army, led by the Great Ho Chih Minh, the United States imperialists, who had already been supplying arms to the French aggressors, stepped in to take over the war of aggression and for a decade and more wantonly reeked havoc on all of Indochina in a barbarous fashion without precedent. The U.S. intervened to prevent President Ho Chih Minh and the Vietnam Workers Party from registering a landslide victory in the elections called for by the 1954 Geneva agreement. The liberation movement's popularity in Angola, Mozambique and the new Republic of Guine is total, the demonstrations mounted by the African masses in these territories since Caetano's overthrow testify to this. "Whites in Mozambique were stunned", says the "Rand Daily Mail" (5:5:74)

It is wellknown that Portugal's intransigence in the face of African resistance was due largely to financial and military support she enjoyed from Western imperialist countries as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). This support was forthcoming because Western countries have investments totalling thousands of millions of pounds, dollars, francs and marks invested all over Southern Africa, the largest being in Azania (Britain alone has over £1,500 million in South Africa and the U.S. more than the same figure in dollars). Portugal has obviously failed in her mission on behalf of Western imperialism in Africa. Not only are the investments in Angola and Mozambique, plus the rich natural resources, rightfully coming under the control of the indigenous people, South Africa is going to witness emerge on her immediate borders independent African states that were not left as her hostages by the arbitrary and artificial map drawings of the 1886 Berlin Conference.

#### Intervention

It is not in the nature of imperialism to capitulate without a tough struggle and Southern Africa is unlikely to be an exception. In one form or another history is likely to repeat itself. This time the Americans, after their humiliating defeat in Indochina, and the resultant chaos at home, may not themselves commit troops and equipment overtly in Southern Africa. The South African fascist regime, badly shaken and desperate after the collapse of the Lisbon end of the axis white settlers that dominate Southern Africa, shows itself to be more than willing to stage an intervention. Phillip Windsor of the London School of Economics, in a BBC commentary (See P 11) said the apartheid republic may be racist but she is a dependable ally of the West in protecting trade routes round the Cape of Good Hope, especially after the developments in Portugal.

By far the most serious event pointing in the direction of US involvement since the Lisbon coup was the trip to Washington DC by the Kommandant General of the South African racist armed forces, Admiral Bierman. Sensing the controversy that his trip to Washington might cause the US State Department refused to give Bierman a visa for an official visit. The Pentagon soon fixed that by arranging for an ex-Admiral in their Navy, one McCain, to invite the neo-Nazi Kommandant as a "private guest". The leader of the

(Cont Page 4)

---

Prospects of a Vietnam (Continuing)

---

pro-apartheid group of Senators in the US Congress, Byrd, who piloted the legislation giving the US power to violate UN sanctions on Rhodesia, intervened at the State Department to ensure that Bierman receives a visa. Bierman spent a good part of May in the States, mostly at the Pentagon, in deep discussions. He also met with the US Assistant Secretary for Defence. Their talks concentrated on ways around the embargo of arms supplies to South Africa imposed by the Kennedy Administration and the pushing of the importance of the Cape of Good Hope sea route with influential Americans, especially by using the Russian bogey.

Mercenary army

Because of the internal situation inside Azania the South African white army is too stretched to commit ground troops beyond what it is doing in Zimbabwe, hence the heavy concentration on long distance planes like the French supplied Mirages, war frigates armed with missiles and submarines. South Africa started stock-piling these kinds of weapons after the Sharpeville uprising and Bierman himself, when he was only commander of the navy, said the frigates and submarines were excellent for striking at the so-called Bantu homelands in times of strife inside the country. The same frigates, submarines and jet planes are ideally suited for the kind of off-shore bombardment the U.S. aggressors used against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from 1965 to '72, and in their "secret war" (only to the most gullible victims of Pentagon and USIS information) against Cambodia.

The Cambodian secret war, and the presence of more than 6,000 U.S. military "advisors" in South Vietnam to this day (London Week-end TV, May 12, '74), shows that the Pentagon can become involved in any theatre of war without the approval of the US Congress - where it may come up against opposition, especially from the Black Caucus of the House of Representatives. But working together the South African fascists and the US imperialists can raise a mercenary force which they will equip well and back with powerful air and naval forces from South Africa. Incase there are some with illusions let us remind that Zionist Israel survives to this day on war supplies from the US and indifference, at its mildest, from the rest of the NATO membership to the cause of the Palestinians. And every so often the Zionist aggressors are let loose and allowed to swallow up more Arab territory by US imperialism.

Effective counter

The question was asked, from the new South African police minister, Jimmy Kruger, "Would South Africa take Portugal's 'wanted' security police (the PIDE or DGS) who had fled from Portugal, and, as had been reported, hoped to enter South Africa?" (Johannesburg 'Sunday Times', May 8, '74) and he replied: "As with any others, these men would have to make application to join the South African police". Who can be better equipped for spearheading intervention into a free Angola or Mozambique than a PIDE agent?

The Freedom Fighters of Angola and Mozambique know what to do and they have proved it by defeating the Portuguese. The African counter offensive needs to be strengthened by the Azanian liberation movement which has a singularly important role to play: to pin down the Boers inside Azania by speedily developing the armed struggle in a continuous way. Free Africa is committed to supporting the Azanian struggle and the masses can now draw inspiration from next door Angola and Mozambique. With unity, a revolutionary line and determination the success over Portugal can be emulated in Azania. The world's freedom loving people are also behind us.

- THE EDITORS

International Community  
Commemorates the 14th  
Anniversary of  
SHARPEVILLE & LANGA

IT HAS BEEN APPLAUDED AS ONE OF THE MOST  
MILITANT AND DYNAMIC SPEECHES EVER MADE AT  
THE UNITED NATIONS - the speech delivered  
by the Acting President and National Secretary  
of the Pan Africanist Congress, Potlako K.

Leballo. He had been specially invited by the UN's Special Committee on  
Apartheid to come and participate in the special meeting convened to mark  
the 21st of March, the International Day for the Elimination of Racism,  
and commemorate the 14th Anniversary of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres  
which occurred during the Positive Action Campaign of the P.A.C. in 1960.

The Anniversary of Sharpeville was also observed at the P.A.C.'s External  
Headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where members of PAC were joined  
by hundreds of Tanzanians, leaders of TANU, members of the OAU Executive  
Secretariat and representatives of other liberation movements with offices  
in the Tanzanian capital. The P.A.C. Mission to Europe and the Americas  
on March 21 sent a telegram to British Foreign Secretary, Jim Callaghan,  
reminding of the pledge made by the now ruling Labour Party at their Annual  
Conference (see Azania Combat Special Release No 2 - 73) promising to  
progressively sever links with the South African apartheid regime and support  
for the Azanian national liberation movement when Labour returns to Government

#### Gestapo brutalities

The PAC telegram also urged Mr Callaghan to instruct the UK's permanent  
representative at the UN to fully participate in the Special Committee on  
Apartheid commemorative meeting and join in denouncing the Vorster regime.  
At the meeting in New York Potlako Leballo said: "When the international  
community thinks of the political situation in Azania what looms high in its  
imagination is the utterly brutal killing of men, women and children at  
Sharpeville, Langa, Evaton, Vanderbijl Park and Nyanga on March 21, 1960.  
Some people think of the political turmoil which followed and led to a  
financial crisis, loss of profits and the shooting of Prime Minister Verwoerd  
by a desperate white businessman. Others think of apartheid, of race  
prejudice, discrimination, and gestapo police brutalities, and other horrible  
inhuman by-products of fascist dictatorship in that country.

The oppressed people of Azania think of the revolutionary campaign, of  
positive action for the abolition of the obnoxious pass laws, of the  
greatest political march in our history that brought the city of Cape Town  
and the white (only) parliament to a standstill. They remember the martyrs  
of those epic days with national pride and look forward to the annual  
occasion to re-dedicate themselves to the struggle for which the heroes of  
Sharpeville and Langa sacrificed their lives." Comrade Leballo then went on  
to thank the UN Special Committee for its work in vigilantly observing the  
situation inside Azania and faithfully reporting the sordid practices of  
Vorster's fascist gang to the international community, and said he was  
doing so in the name of "the heroes of Sharpeville and Langa, their families,  
and on behalf of Mangaliso Sobukwe, President and Leader of the P.A.C. who  
launched and led that epic campaign and is still held at Robben Island - at the  
point of a gun literally - in a dusty village outside Kimberly".

#### Who will avenge?

Our gathering here today will not bring back the lives that were brutally  
brought to an end. Who will avenge the dead? Who will stand up for those who  
are languishing in Vorster's jails and concentration camps today? Our people  
in the country have awakened to the fact that the struggle for national  
liberation is their struggle and that they alone must liberate themselves.  
At first they looked to the West, especially Britain, for salvation and  
found they were gravely mistaken. Western capitalism is a system of slavery

---

Anniversary of Sharpeville (Cont)

---

and it cannot voluntarily emancipate its victims, continued the Acting President of PAC.

"When the racist regime banned the organisations of the African people in 1960 it believed that it would silence Black opposition and stifle all determined resistance. It was continuously proved wrong by the militants who have continued the struggle underground, especially under POQO - the armed wing of the P.A.C. By the early seventies the situation had completely changed. Inspired by the self-less sacrifices of the underground forces of the national liberation movement the African people have placed major trust in their ability to do things for themselves instead of waiting for some mystery 'liberator'. They have seen the imperative need to close their ranks and to seek out of history lessons that are increasingly available for all oppressed and exploited people seeking to free themselves.

Bantustan puppets

As a result we find close solidarity among people whom successive racist regimes have tried to separate by race and colour in order to divide and alienate one from the other. Only the stooge Bantustan chiefs, puppets and cowardly dead-wood, enter into any form of dialogue with the racist regime. The people in the Transkei Bantustan have already had more than ten years of the totally fraudulent system and their worst fears have been cruelly confirmed. The unity of the oppressed is gaining momentum daily and the Black organisations that are springing up all over the country, composed of workers, students and the broad masses, are the evidence. Their rejection of apartheid and exploitation is categorical and their commitment to total liberation is unequivocal.

"We must remember", said Comrade Leballo towards the end of his speech, "that Sharpeville was the greatest turning point in the history of organised resistance to tyranny in Azania. It is also the graveyard of non-violence and passive resistance as the principal means for gaining freedom. The Azanian people, led by PAC, for the first time challenged the racist regime by putting forward an alternative government and advancing a policy of non-racialism - as opposed to apartheid and other racist frauds - democracy under universally accepted norms - instead of sectional polling - and scientific socialism - as against capitalism and other exploitative devices. The P.A.C. and the Azanian people were pleading for no concessions but making solid demands for the overthrow of the tyrannical apartheid regime, and their demands were backed by a determination to make any sacrifices that may be necessary. It is under those circumstances that the martyrs of Sharpeville died".

Comrade Leballo ended his speech by calling for the effective implementation of UN resolutions by all member states, especially Britain, the US, France, West Germany and Japan.

Observed world-wide

Messages of solidarity from all over the world were received by offices of the Pan Africanist Congress and a number of meetings were held in North America, Europe and Australia to mark Sharpeville Day. Commenting on the situation in Azania Radio Peking said: "The Azanian people are daily intensifying their struggle against apartheid which was given impetus by the Sharpeville massacre on March 21, 14 years ago. In the past year or more, the Azanian people, encouraged by the excellent situation in Africa, have further developed their struggle against white racist domination". Ambassador Edwin Ogebe Ogbu, Nigeria's Permanent Representative at the UN and Chairman of

(Concluding next page)

---

Anniversary of S'ville (Concluding)

---

the UN Special Committee on Apartheid issued a statement in which he said: "I wish to make an earnest appeal to all Governments, organisations and people to join in the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination which was launched by the United Nations on 10 December 1973". Details of the Programme for the Decade of Action against Racism are contained in Document No 24/73 of the UN Unit on Apartheid which is available from the UN Headquarters in New York or its information offices the world over.

The P.A.C. has expressed appreciation for all the acts of solidarity expressed through meetings, messages and commentaries by Governments organisations and the progressive mass media in commemoration of Azania's most important National Day.

---

The Lions' tour of SA - a dangerous provocation	"A STATE OF WAR exists between the South African apartheid regime and the oppressed African masses in Azania. The police detailed to guard the Lions and other visitors to have committed innumerable crimes against the African people and their liberation movement, on behalf of their apartheid political masters. These crimes include arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, illegal hangings, torture and murder by torture, cold blooded massacres and the callous ruining of family lives. During this war of liberation the African Freedom Fighters have vowed to avenge the victims of apartheid atrocities and all South African police have been declared legitimate targets for attack".
---	---

The above quote is from a statement made by the Pan Africanist Congress on May 7, warning British Rugby authorities against proceeding with the provocative tour of the British Lions of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The statement was published extensively in the British Isles. A letter acknowledging its impact in Ireland was sent to PAC by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Committee: "The members of my Executive Committee have asked me to express their deep appreciation of your recent most useful statement on the subject of the disgraceful racist Lions Rugby tour. The statement was reported fully in the national press. Although it seems likely that seven Irish men will take part in the tour, at least our movement can have the satisfaction of knowing that they do so against the overwhelming expression of Irish public opinion. We have also reason to be confident that such a tour will never again take place".

During the same month of May the UN Special Committee on Apartheid opened its Special Session in Europe in the Irish capital of Dublin and a delegation from the P.A.C. was present. It is evident that the broad masses of the Irish people passionately hate apartheid and the Irish Foreign Minister, Dr FitzGerald, said as much when opening the UN meeting. PAC and other participants appealed to the Irish Government to sever links with Pretoria and join in the struggle to prevent the recognition of Vorster's man at the European Economic Commission (EEC) in Brussels and extension of preferential treatment of apartheid South Africa in trade with the EEC.

The P.A.C. said the rugby authorities must take the full blame in the event of any danger that overtakes the Lions in South Africa. "This is not an idle threat. Day after day dramatic events unfold in South Africa, increasingly placing Azanian freedom fighters within striking range of their mortal enemies - the South African fascist regime".



News from inside Azania  
in brief

AS A DIRECT RESULT OF THE WAVE-UPON-WAVE INDUSTRIAL ACTION taken by Azanian workers in recent months - notably the massive strike and demonstration which led to the massacre of 12 workers at the Western Deep Level Mine, in Carletonville - Oppenheimer's giant mining company, the Anglo-American Corporation, has promised to spend R60 million\* improving living conditions in the hostels of mine workers. According to the Johannesburg "Star" (May 15) the money from Anglo-American will go into "improvements in hostel conditions for 120,000 African workers on its mines". The redecoration of conscript labour condtions does not alter the barbarous system's slave-like style. The wages of Africans are not going up to the same level as White mine workers (whites earn up to 50 times more than Black miners). And Anglo-American continues to collude in the seperation of these men from their families back in the so-called homelands.

Johannesburg.- The "Rand Daily Mail" (May 16) reports that in Maseru, during a debate in parliament, the deputy Prime Minister, Sekhonyana Masirebane, condemned as slavery the exploitative pay of R3 a month paid to workers from Lesotho on South African farms. Lesotho has appealed for investments from overseas to help it create industries that will enable the country to avoid sending its men to labour on South African farms and in the mines.

Potchefstroom.- A Boer employed at the Western Deep Level mines at Carletonville gave a fatal demonstration of the tension that is gripping most of the White minority in Azania. Hendrik Klopper (47) threw a bomb and blew himself and a lawyer to "smithereens" (R.D.M. May 18) after the presiding magistrate in a traffic court found him guilty of violating a 50 m.p.h. on a road near Potchefstroom, Western Transvaal. According to the "Mail" 39 other people, including the magistrate, who were in the totally destroyed court or standing nearby were also injured. Jimmy Kruger, the new police minister, rushed out a statement reassuring White South Africans that the explosion was "not political". Perhaps. But it is a measure of the insanity to which many White South Africans have been driven by political uncertainty and global isolation, as a result of the African people's struggle, the abnormal action of a man convicted for so petty an offense.

Johannesburg.- A reporter on the "Star" (May 5) believes th the Vorster regime, after its recent election 'victory', is now ready to put into action yet another one of the racists' ploys for duping international public opinion and calming the "restless natives" at home. Remember the much vaunted "dialogue"? (Incidentally Vorster told the "Mail", May 10, that "Officially dialogue is marking time. In reality it is being pursued although the general atmosphere towards it is hostile". How mendacious can you get?) The next ploy will cover the sports field. The Boer regime is currently buoyed by the British Lions rugby team's treacherous visit - described as "A great day for South African rugby" by sports minister Piet Koornhof - and they hope to seduce other gullible sportsmen overseas into accepting South Africa's racially selected teams by employing tactics of sham liberalisation whilst maintaining racial discrimination.

Durban.- In a country where the overwhelming majority of its membership and following is Black the Church of England still prefers to employ a White man as its head in South Africa. The nearest a Blackman has come to the top position of Archbishop only took place in the middle of May, this year, when Bishop Alphaeus Zulu was assigned Dean of the Province of Natal. His senior, Archbishop Bill Burnet, was elected in April. Could it be that, even at this late hour, the Anglican Church still fears confrontation with the South African neo-Nazi regime? Mangaliso Sobukwe once said: "Communism, like Christianity, has been unfortunate in its choice of disciples in South Africa".



---

News from Azania in Brief (Cont)

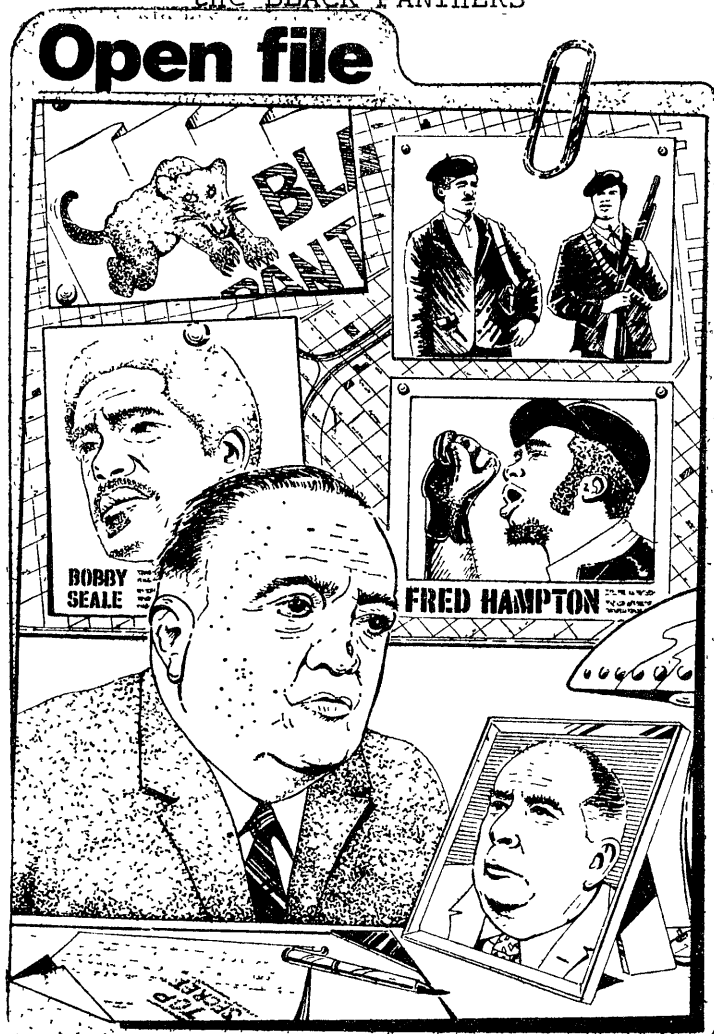
---

Johannesburg.— The sister-in-law of a White South African militiaman with the Ian Smith rebels has strongly accused the Rhodesians of lying about the extent and depth of the guerilla war that is being waged by ZANU. The woman's brother-in-law, Hugh Gundry, was killed by ZANU guerillas in Bindura on April 27 but the Rhodesian settler regime claimed that he died near the border with Mozambique in the North East of Zimbabwe. Mrs Margaret Juul wrote to the Rhodesia Herald (May 5) stating: "The account of the terrorist attack stated that Hugh Gundry was based in Bindura. As everyone knows Bindura is a thriving town ~~one~~ hours drive from Salisbury ... where is the border? The incident occurred exactly one and a half hour's drive from Salisbury and that is now ~~where~~ near the North-eastern border, where the army claims he was killed". Freedom fighters of Southern Africa are a joke no more! The letter was published in the RDM.

Nongoma (Ntl).— Gatsha Buthelezi, the blue eyed boy of the South African liberal press and Black darling of the West, leader of the "Kwa Zulu" Bantustan and ex-ANC Youth League Member, has wasted precious little time learning fascist methods from his Pretoria masters. He told the "KwaZulu legislative Assembly" that he is going to ask the fascist President of the apartheid republic of South Africa to extend the "state of emergency law" imposed on Zululand's Msimang district to three other areas because "of the faction fighting amongst Zulus". Faction fighting is frequently the euphemism applied by the enemy to describe local armed resistance. In anycase, if there was "faction fighting", the duty of a chief is to act as conciliator between warring factions and not as informer for the sworn enemies of the oppressed people. Buthelezi is also asking Pretoria for powers to "ban political parties in KwaZulu" (Guardian, London, May 28) following his fall-out with another chief in the area, Charles Hlengwa, boss of the "Umkonto KaShaka" party. Here there has been a "thief-stop-thief" situation: BOSS, the South African SS, claimed that "Umkonto" was the "creation of foreign forces" (RDM May 8) but on May 16 the RDM reports that Hlengwa confessed to receiving funds from a BOSS colonel in Durban. By playing ball with apartheid's "seperate development" policy Bantustan chiefs have created favourable conditions for intensified subversion of the African people's national unity by enemy agents. Laterly Buthelezi has fallen out with Barney Dladla - his spokesman on "labour and community affairs" - because Dladla thought Buthelezi is showing too much favour towards another "KwaZulu minister", S. Chonco. The petty squabbling makes excellent copy for scribes eager to prove the Black man's "unreadiness": If they can't handle a toy government how can they run a real one? But the people have provided the answer by remaining faithful to their true leaders - the liberation movement - and, as Buthelezi admits (RDM May 9), so-called elections for a "KwaZulu Assembly" are delaying because the people are reluctant to register as "citizens of KwaZulu". That is a tiny sample of the Azanian people's political maturity.

Johannesburg.— A strike by 700 African workers in the Johannesburg Post Office was staged on May 7. According to the RDM (May 8) dozens of police raided the strikers and forced them to return to work under the threat that they would be "deported to the homelands" and "classed as deserters" (meaning they will never be offered or allowed to work in South Africa's industrialised areas) after imprisonment. The workers were demanding for a 100% raise from their present R60-00. Striking is still illegal in South Africa and suspected "ring leaders" are harassed through banishment and arrests.

The Pan African Scene:  
Featuring Special article  
on FBI subversion of  
the BLACK PANTHERS



ON DECEMBER 4, 1969, 50 Chicago policemen armed with machine guns, gas and high velocity rifles stormed the Illinois headquarters of the Black Panthers. They were armed with a warrant to search for arms, and they shot dead Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, wounded two other Panthers, and arrested two more. The police have always claimed they were fired on, although from the blood soaking through Hampton's mattress one independent inquiry concluded he had been shot while in his bed.

Those two deaths brought the number of Panther dead in the previous 18 months to 28. Within a week, a dynamite and machine gun assault on the Black Panther offices in Los Angeles wounded six more.

On December 11, 1969, the then Attorney-General John Mitchell publicly denied that there was any coordinated campaign of harassment against the party.

Open File has been given photocopies of internal FBI messages from the Director, J. Edgar Hoover, to regional directors in Albany, New York and Atlanta, Georgia. There can be no doubt of their validity—they were subpoenaed by the lawyers acting for Fred Hampton's family in their suit for conspiracy to murder against the Chicago Police Department.

Under the American Freedom of Information Act, any official information which concerns you which does not to the satisfaction of a judge infringe national security, must be made available to you.

These FBI documents prove that not only was there a coordinated and secret campaign of harassment waged against black nationalist and new left groups, but also that counter-intelligence programmes were established which were based on methods used with success against Chinese Communists.

The campaign began in 1967, with a letter from Hoover to all Bureau sub-offices. The one to the Albany Bureau is dated August 25 of that year.

The letter began: "The purpose of this new counter-intelligence endeavour is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralise the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organisations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters."

A week later, another misive went forth from Hoover, informing the FBI that the name of the programme was to be changed from Counter-intelligence Black Nationalist Hate Groups to Racial Intelligence for Internal Security, and that the programme was now being "Expanded to include 41 offices." It included an example of the type of operation local Bureaus could emulate.

"The... group was active in... in the summer of 1967... alerted local police who then put the leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, the leaders spent most of the summer in jail."

That example, and the one which follows, underlines the

really frightening part of this programme. Unpalatable though it may be, one cannot deny to the State the right to defend itself against the actions of groups whose existence appear to threaten the State's existence. A justification can legitimately be made of an intelligence and surveillance operation against such groups, to discover their precise capacities for action. But once the State crosses the narrow line between legitimate surveillance and direct harassing and intimidatory action we are entering the world of the agent provocateur, of state violence against its own citizens and of the police state.

On May 5, 1970, the FBI Director wrote to the San Francisco office: "The Bureau would like to offer for your consideration a proposal for a disruptive-disinformation operation targeted against the national office of the Black Panther Party."

1. The operation would be effected through close coordinates on a high level with the Oakland or San Francisco Police Department.

2. Xerox copies of true documents, documents subtly incorporating false information and entirely fabricated documents would be periodically anonymously mailed to the residence of a key Panther leader. These documents would be on the stationery and in the form used by the police department or by the FBI in disseminating information to the Police.

3. An attempt would be made to give the Panther recipient, the impression the documents were stolen from Police files by a disgruntled Police employee sympathetic to the Panthers."

The letter goes on to suggest methods of establishing a "post office" for the Panthers and the Policeman to communicate, of arranging face to face meetings, and the object of all this is described in section 6.

"6. Reports, blind memoranda, LHMs and other alleged Police or FBI documents could be prepared pinpointing Panthers as Police or FBI informants; ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders through their ineptness or personal escapades, espousing personal philosophies and promoting factionalism among BPP members, indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids or other counter actions; revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds; pointing out instances of political disorientation."

The letter concludes: "Although this proposal is a relatively simple technique, it has been applied with exceptional results in another area of intelligence interest where the target was of far greater sophistication."

In this context, it is worth remembering that Bobby Seale spent over a year being tried on charges of having ordered the murder of another Panther who was suddenly suspected of being a police informer. In the event, Seale was acquitted.

Here as in Watergate, one has reason to be grateful to the American judicial process for its capacity to withstand, and to overcome, the challenge—an arrogant and illegal executive authority can present. But while this entire counter intelligence campaign was being implemented, the chief law officer of the Nixon Government, Attorney General Mitchell, persistently denied the existence of any such campaign of harassment against the Black Panthers.

### Martin Walker

Combatview: Police

subversion of potent Black movements goes side-by-side with harassment through arrests and imprisonment. We must be vigilant against gossip peddlers and super-theocrats who jam progress with half-baked ideas on revolutionary struggle. Their role is the same: to divide and weaken the movement. Who gains? The enemy of course. The Panthers experience is an important lesson for all genuine freedom fighters.

(From: The Guardian, London,

May 28 1974)

Brief News & Comments on  
Western economic and  
military links with S.A.

SOUTH AFRICA IS OF THE FOREMOST IMPORTANCE  
TO NATO IN THE PROTECTION OF SEA ROUTES LINKING  
WESTERN COUNTRIES WITH THEIR TRADING INTERESTS

IN THE EAST, this was stated by Phillip Windsor of the London School of Economics in a commentary on the World Service of the BBC, on Monday, May 27. Windsor also said it may be "unfortunate that South Africa's policies are racist but she is a good ally and beneficial to the West." He noted that Vorster greeted the election of Giscard d'Estaing with jubilation because Francois Mitterand had promised to stop selling arms to the white oppressive regime and went on to say that the NATO countries can no longer depend on the good relations between South Africa and one or two Western countries as a guarantee for the protection of the sea routes by South Africa. Dramatic changes were taking place in that area and South Africa has the "sophistication and economic resources" to police the area on behalf of the West. (Combatview: It is urgent for the OAU to confront France and compel the new Government to go further than the promise to "restrain arms sales to South Africa" - R.D.M. May 16 - made by M. d'Estaing during the election campaign).

Cairo.- During a visit to Egypt President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia revealed that he had received concrete information that the Zionist state of Israel had sent a major-general from its army that is occupying Palestine and other Arab countries to train South African fascist troops "in combat against guerillas" (Guardian, London, March 3, '74). President Kaunda also said he had information that French supplied Mirage warplanes were brought in from South Africa to help the Zionist aggressors during the October War. The South African neo-Nazis and Israeli Zionists have become fast bed-fellows and are acting as the chief constables of Western imperialism policing the Middle East and Africa south of the Sahara.

London.- From the R.D.M. (May 10): "Possible South African intervention in Mozambique in the form of a 'preemptive strike' if Portugal permits 'too rapid' a pace of Africanisation, or appeared to succumb to insurgent pressure, is predicted by the London based Institute of Strategic Studies.

Johannesburg.- Barclays, the British bankers, have experienced yet another rise in profits in their South Africa operation: "Operating results for 6 months to March 31 1974 show a 23.6% rise in net group income and a 12.1% advance in earnings on the enlarged capital i.e. net group income of R19,142,000 compared with R15,477,000 for the same period last year", states a report issued by Barclays Bank (South Africa) on the 4th of May, 1974. Business under apartheid yields incomparable profits for foreign investors.

London.- Four of the Bantustan puppet chiefs, including Buthelezi and Matanzima, recently featured in an advert in The Economist and promised, on behalf of the Pretoria masters, that foreign investors can rest assured that their interests in South Africa will never be nationalised - "unlike in independent Black African countries".

Oakland (California).- For ever vigilant against imperialist designs on Africa The Black Panther, organ of the Black Panther Party, carried an article on April 20 scrutinising Brazil's intentions in Africa. The Panther describes Brazil's role as "sub-imperial", explaining that the Latin American country is merely working for US imperialism. After tracing diplomatic contacts Brazil has made with West Africa, in particular, and showing that Brazil is in search of markets for her consumer goods BP says (and is vindicated by the lead story on this page) that eventually Brazil will come into some military alliance with South Africa "against some fictitious enemy such as the Soviet air and naval threat". In effect Brazil, which is being equipped by the military naval yards of England and France, NATO members,

---

Brief news & comments (Continuing)

---

for some 250 million US dollars, is to play the role in the South Atlantic which South Africa plays in the Indian Ocean, and Israel in the Middle East, on behalf of Western imperialism. The BP feature article is based on a study carried out by Captain Raymond A. Komorowski for the US Navy - "An Assessment of US Strategic Interests."

Pretoria.- The recent election in South Africa saw the increase of Progressive Party representation in the Whites only parliament grow from one to six and it was only because of the far more significant developments in Portugal that a bombard from the liberal mass media, counselling 'moderation' from the oppressed African majority, in the face of these 'significant victories for multi-racialism', was averted. Indeed some such minded editorialists here and in Europe, were already speaking of the six white MPs as "voices representing the 16 million Blacks of South Africa". It is during times such as this when so-called liberals are exposed as defenders of the status quo. After the elections the chief benefactor of the Progs and South Africa's leading employer of cheap Black labour, Harry Oppenheimer, dashed to London to address a meeting at which he said: "We can, therefore, do very well in South Africa without efforts of people who seek to help Africans by cutting off the inflow of investment capital on which their future welfare depends" In the RDM report (May 8), Oppenheimer went on to attack those that are financing (like the WCC) reckless 'murderers' who kill men, women and children, says the report. "We can do without those too", Oppenheimer said. (Combatview: It is true that Africans will suffer when investments in apartheid are withdrawn. But whose economy and, subsequently, regime will fall down when Freedom Fighters fight a weakened enemy?)

London.- Tony Benn, Britain Secretary for Trade and Industry, deserves praise for taking a positive step towards fulfilling his Party's pledge to sever links with racist South Africa at the Labour Conference, last year, by refusing to yield to pressure from the Tory party and big business and thus refusing to lift Britain's arms embargo on South Africa and supply the apartheid regime with military planes and other aerospace defence equipment. The Mission of the P.A.C. in London wrote as follows to the Minister: "For those campaigning for the overthrow of the apartheid regime, inside as well as outside South Africa, your decision is an important boost in the wake of the shameful tour of white minority rule Southern Africa by the British Lions ... It is our hope that the Labour Government will proceed to implement the Conference decision of a complete boycott of apartheid".

Durban.- Slater, Walker Securities (South Africa) have released their annual turn-over figures for the first time ever. The British firm reports that for the year ending on December 31 1973 it had a turn-over of R157 mil ion.

London.- From the London Guardian of April 27: "South African fears that the effect on the country's colonial neighbours of the Portuguese coup would intensify anti-apartheid pressures on it caused some severe falls in London-quoted South African shares yesterday. Already weakened by the downward drift in the bullion price, gold shares lost up to 14 per cent with mining financials only slightly less badly affected. Towards the market close, however, there were signs of American and European buying and some of the more volatile issues recovered most of their earlier losses".